The Progressive Review

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Three good ideas for any health reform bill

Jonathan Rowe

1. Let nurses do more

One of the dirty secrets of the legal profession is that legal secretaries and paralegals do most of the work in many routine cases. They fill out forms, complete boilerplate pleadings, make routine claims. On Wall Street this kind of legal work is called "Green Goods." Low cost. Large fees.

Of course state bar associations are adamant about keeping a monopoly, even though non-lawyers do the work. As a result, the nation's legal bill goes up dramatically.

Something very similar happens with doctors and nurses. Nurses exercise a lot more discretion than the public generally realizes. Yet doctors have maintained monopoly control over the entire health delivery system; even though, in many types of cases, doctors simply aren't needed. This inflates the nation's medical bill and does little to promote good care.

There are, of course, some complicating factors: the difference between nurse-practitioners and RNs for example. But as a general rule, it makes sense to push functions down to the lowest possible level of expertise. Allowing nurses to do more is perhaps the simplest and most direct way to squeeze waste out of the system.

2. Provide more home care from the non-market economy

The need for simple, daily care is starting to overwhelm the whole medical delivery system. Projections for the next century run into tens, and possibly hundreds, of billions of dollars in federal outlays. Often, hospital bills for the elderly are much higher than they have to be, because there is no one at home to take care of a patient once released. So they are back in the hospital a week or so later, dehydrated, undernourished, or suffering other symptoms of simple neglect.

Hospitals become de facto nursing homes, which is about the worst, most wasteful, thing they can do. On top of this, the need to care for elderly parents has become a major drain on the workplace. Almost one in four American workers will have such responsibilities over the next several years, and the number is constantly growing.

Clinton's bill addresses this problem in exactly the wrong way. He proposes to pay for more home care through the medical insurance system (and less directly the tax system.) Certainly the federal government has to pay for *some* such care. But there is no way the system can work on the scale he is proposing. We are facing the bitter fruits of social breakdown -- the erosion of extended family and community that once provided the care that is now absent.

There is not enough money in America, public or private, to pay for all the care this informal safety net once provided. The ideologists debate medical reform proposals in terms of "public" versus "private", the "government" versus "the market". But those categories are almost totally irrelevant; they are all aspects of the same thing -- the *monetized* economy. That's what is bankrupting us, the attempt to provide all this care through the monetized economy, whether in its public or private dimension.

Even in its private sector, the monetized economy is fraught with waste. It entails an enormous overhead of banking, insurance, accounting, security, courts, and so forth, to perform the simplest functions.

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The non-market economy, by contrast, needs none of these. Decades ago, for example, if a mother had to be away for the afternoon, she would just call a neighbor and send the kids over. Next time, it would work the other way around.

That is the simplest, most efficient economic transaction on earth. Economists consider it primitive and backward, a form of "barter". But that's just because money defines the economist's reality; transactions not denominated in money do not exist for them. Economists get very uneasy at the thought that transactions might move into a realm where they can't see them, turn them into computer data, make projections with them, and so forth.

This does not mean trying to turn back the clock and bring back the good old days. Instead, we need practical ways to replicate the dynamic of non-market exchange in the transient society of today. We have to reinvent the kind of informal care that happens naturally in small towns and traditional inner city neighborhoods.

The caregiver exchange is an example. Caregiver exchanges are simply networks of mutual care. I help a neighbor and get a chit in exchange. Then, when I need help, someone in the community helps me.

Caregiver exchanges -- also called time dollars and care shares -- are arising all over the U.S. They can work within the medical system in any number of ways. In Brooklyn, for example, an HMO for seniors called Elderplan has become, in effect, one big caregiver exchange. The members of this HMO help take care of one another. When a member is home sick, for example, other members go and provide care. This cuts costs significantly. It also keeps the members themselves healthy and active. Studies show that people who care for other people are more healthy than those who don't.

The members get credits for each hour of care they provide. They can then use these credits when they need help themselves. Or, they can use them to help pay part of their HMO premiums.

In Florida, hospitals are relying increasingly on volunteers to perform unskilled functions such as providing information to visitors or answering phones. One such hospital has made this work part of the caregiver exchange. Volunteers get certain services from the hospital, if they need them, in exchange for their work. At the hospital my father was in recently, a volunteer receptionist made a telling comment. I asked her why she did it. "Well, I play golf or go shopping every other day," she said. "I need a break."

People have a desire to help and a need to be needed that has nothing to do with money. Economists don't understand this, but it is true. Our country deprives old people in particular of the very thing many of them crave the most -- the opportunity to be useful. (It also deprives many inner city kids of this, and it's one of the biggest and most destructive voids in their lives.)

The non-market economy used to be where old people and young people made their contribution. The erosion of

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this economy has been destructive to them and to the whole country. Caregiver exchanges are a way to revive that economy. The debate over medical care provides an ideal time to raise this important issue.

3. Trade malpractice reform for community service

Malpractice reform is part of the healthcare debate; and to some extent rightly so. Damage awards sometimes are excessive. The fear of lawsuits does weigh heavily in medical decisions and not always for the best. Though malpractice is not the enormous drain that Republicans pandering to the AMA have claimed, some change is probably needed.

Congress, however, should not provide it for free. It should not bargain away a citizen's right to recompense as determined by a jury of peers, without getting a substantial benefit in return.

The administration's "reform" is tepid in the extreme: a cap on lawyers' contingency fees at one third of the jury award, which is what many if not most lawyers charge anyway. Real reform would go further. But whatever form it takes, I'd demand *free* care to the uninsured in return.

That would be a fair deal. Congress would relieve doctors and hospitals of the most onerous and unreasonable malpractice burdens. In return, they would set aside a given amount of time and space -- for doctors, say, one day a week -- to treat the uninsured without pay. This would go far towards providing universal health care with minimal bureaucracy, public or private. Why should the medical profession get malpractice relief for free?

THE WEATHER REPORT

Sleazy supermarket tabloid stuff

• Those who keep talking about "no evidence of criminal wrongdoing" would do well to review the February issue of the *American Spectator* which contains a list of federal and state laws potentially involved in the Whitewater scandal and the penalties attached thereto. They range from Section 5-52-101 of the Arkansas Criminal Code which makes it a crime for a public servant to trade in public offices (up to one year, $1000 fine) to 18 US Code 201 which makes it a crime to offer or promise "directly or indirectly" anything of value to someone with the aim of influencing that person's testimony under oath. (up to 15 years and disqualification from any federal office.)

• And what if there are no criminal charges? According to the current political and media paradigm, the Clintons would be home free for it is thought that the penal code -- rather than some more refined sense of morality such as one might extrapolate, say, from religion -- defines acceptable behavior. This dismal standard probably got rolling about the time that Nixon said, "I am not a crook." Since then non-criminality has become sufficient qualification for high public office in the minds of many politicians and journalists.

• Our interest in this matter has always been decanonization rather than impeachment. The media adulation of the First Persons has done neither democracy nor citizens any good. Besides, while the Clintons (and a number of their media toadies) complain of being distracted from healthcare reform, Whitewater has actually provided cover for Congress to work on reasonable alternatives to Hillary's Mediflop. A decent health bill may turn out to be the great countervailing virtue of the whole affair.

• Which is not to say that there may not be grounds for impeachment. Since the matter could arise, it may be worth rehashing Alexander Hamilton's thoughts on the subject in Federalist Nbr. 65:

> The subjects of [the Senate's] jurisdiction are those offenses which proceed from the misconduct of public men, or, in other words, from the abuse of violation of some public trust. They are of a nature which may with peculiar propriety be called POLITICAL *[sic]*, as they relate chiefly to injuries done immediately to the society itself.

While the White House clearly wants to deal with the issue only within the narrow confines of conventional criminal law, this is not what impeachment is about. In fact the Constitution explicitly limits the punishment that Congress can mete out (to loss of present and future public office) and states that "the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law." In other words, an impeachment and trial is in additional to, and not a substitute for, the conventional law.

• To a less postmodern way of thinking, the mere assumption by the Clintonites that beating a rap is the same thing as exoneration suggests how this mess developed in the first place. Criminality aside, here are a few things we know already: that our president and his wife did business and/or were pals with a cocaine dealer, another man whose activities ended up costing taxpayers $50 million in S&L repair costs, and a lawyer whose activities have been referred by *all* his partners to the state bar association for possible disciplinary action. We also know that the Clinton staff obstructed law enforcement officers attempting to investigate Vincent Foster's death, that numerous documents related to the Clintons were shredded, that Ms. Clinton represented a failing S&L before an agency of her husband's government and that both Clintons have lied to

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the American people about aspects of these matters. None of this may prove to be a crime but it's certainly newsworthy, not particularly lovable and a poor recommendation for a second term.

• While the mainstream press found space to trash the conservative *American Spectator* for its story on Clinton's sexual excesses, it was left to the *Columbia Journalism Review* (at least among the pubs we've seen) to note that while David Brock was preparing his story, his magazine's offices were broken into three times. Two of the break-ins occurred at the *Spectator*'s Arlington office and one at its New York City office. An editor told *CJR* that the *Spectator* had never had a break-in in 26 years, that files appeared to have been searched, and that police found it unusual that no computer equipment or money was taken. Among the items stolen: a cassette player, radio, fax machine and a VCR.

• Coincidentally or not, this is the *fifth* alleged or confirmed incident of theft, violence or threats against those investigating or witnessing aspects of the Clintons' affairs. Aside from the *Spectator* break-ins, we have the claim by Larry Nichols that he was threatened by a member of Clinton's gubernatorial staff if he didn't back off his allegations about the governor's sexual activities. We also have the report of Clinton paramour Sally Perdue (see last issue) who claims to have been threatened by an unnamed Democratic official and said she later found a shotgun shell on the front seat of her Jeep and her back window smashed. And then there is Luther "Jerry" Parks, whose company had done security work for the Clinton campaign and transition and who was ambushed and shot to death while driving home from a Little Rock Mexican restaurant last September 26. His son recently told the *London Telegraph* that his father had investigated Clinton's infidelities for about six years and had accumulated a substantial file, which he kept in his bedroom. Shortly before the shooting, Park's home was broken into, and the Clinton files disappeared.

But of course the argument will be made that we shouldn't believe such sleazy sources. Which brings us to the case of very non-supermarket-tabloid journalist L.J. Davis, a contributing editor of *Harper's* who went to Little Rock to investigate ties between the Clintons and questionable bond transactions of Stephens Inc. for a piece in the *New Republic*. Davis told the *Washington Times* that he surprised someone rifling his files in his hotel room. Davis was knocked unconscious, pages were torn from his notebook, a critical document disappeared and his list of Little Rock sources was removed.

• It used to be that if you that if you wanted a little ex parte conversation involving a regulatory matter, you tried to keep the number of witness down. Not in the Clinton White House, where even the unethical is overstaffed. According to the *New York Times* some 40 administration officials responded to a subpoena for information from those who knew about a federal investigation in the Madison Guaranty S&L.

• One of the stories that the mainstream media has missed is why the supposedly independent Resolution Trust Corporation was run on an ad hoc basis for more than a year by a close political buddy of the president's, Roger Altman, instead of by a proper appointee who would be able to function with the independence the law establishing the agency envisioned. The way Clinton played it was a little as if George Stephanopoulus had been allowed to participate in Supreme Court decisions while awaiting the confirmation of Judge Ginsberg.

New world order notes

• An important congressional primary is shaping up in Cincinnati where incumbent Democrat David Mann is being opposed by state senator Bill Bowen. A key issue is Mann's pro-NAFTA vote, which has earned him the support of the White House despite Mann's conservative opposition to many of Clinton's positions. Bowen is a black liberal, who lost to Mann by only 400 votes two years ago, and is being helped by labor unions and black churches. Organizations and individuals looking for a way of making their anger over NAFTA known could do worse than giving the Bowen campaign a hand.

Land of the free

• The Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press says it has found 151 instances in the Clinton administration of efforts to compromise editorial or individual freedoms, suppress information or undermine coverage of public affairs. Says a representative, "It is disheartening that the Clinton administration is continuing secrecy and censorship initiatives begun by former presidents Bush and Reagan." In fact, at the rate the Clintonistas are going, they could easily top Bush and Reagan in the suppression of information.

• Bill Clinton's choice for deputy attorney general seems to have his flair for ethical flexibility. Jamie Gorelick said she was personally opposed to the death penalty but "will have no trouble enforcing it in the appropriate circumstances."

• The FBI is going to require lie detector tests for everyone it hires.

• The US Court of Appeals has upheld the DEA's decision to refuse to make marijuana legally available for medical purposes.

Technical support

• Microsoft, reports *Wired,* offers a live DJ for customers on hold. The DJ not only plays music (mostly Seattle bands) and talks about the local weather, but gives queue updates: "Three customers in the Excel group are awaiting assistance. The longest call wait-time is now at 2 minutes, 15 seconds."

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"We in the administration have had better luck making history than making headlines" --*Bernard Nussbaum*

To check on this, the Washington Times *went through all its headlines (and those of its publication* Insight*) since Inauguration Day to see how many mention President Clinton. There were 11, 434.*

• *Wired* also reports that Associated Newspapers of England is developing a computer-like portable "news book" with a built in antenna that will be able to receive news articles. *Wired* says that while lots of media companies are playing around with the idea, Associated Newspapers is the furthest along. US sales (at about $500) could begin as early as this December.

Loose change

The informal economy, consistently ignored by economists, politicians and the media, has become a major political issue in Peru. According Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto, one of the great challenges to President Alberto Fujimori is to keep the support of a vast class of street entrepreneurs -- called *informales* -- who represent both the single greatest chance for Peru's economic recovery and the great threat to its stability. Reports PNS editor Andres Tapia:

> While Fujimori had taken the first steps to bring them into the mainstream by legalizing their vending activity, he had failed to grant them basic economic rights, prompting [one time presidential advisor de Soto] to resign his post in protests. . .
>
> In a country with virtually no safety net where the poor must work or starve, the informal entrepreneur dives into work with a vengeance, embodying what do Soto calls "the world's purest form of free enterprise." Juan Chagua, a vendor of running shoes, offers a quick study in how they have mastered the lingo of high finance: "I suffered tremendous decapitalization when Fujimori devalued the currency two years ago. But recently I've been getting close to recouping my losses and by the end of the year I should be back to healthier profit margins."
>
> Given Peru's almost surreal economic inequalities, the success of the *informales* is nothing short of remarkable, de Soto says. Day and night thousands of multicolored transportation buses and vans called *combi* haul people in and out of shantytowns. . . This beehive-like activity has transformed the shantytowns, *pueblos jovenes,* from a collection of hastily erected straw huts into throbbing communities with day care centers, soup kitchens, youth clubs, job training services, open door markets.
>
> The informal sector also now accounts for some 60 percent of Peru's workhours, 50 percent of its housing, and 95 percent of its transportation, according to de Soto's estimates. Indeed, far more than big Fortune 500 type corporations, it is the energy of the informales, – the majority of whom are dark-skinned Indians – on which Peru's economic future depends.

Health reform

• What's this? *Business Week* saying nice things about the single payer system? Here's a quote from an article in the March 21 issue:

> While the US media loves to play up the problems with Canada's system, it ranks far ahead of the US in terms of customer satisfaction. "More than 90% of Canadians favor our system," says Angus Reid, a top Canadian pollster. Even Canadian chief executives "are very strong supporters," says Thomas P. d'Aquino, president of the Business Council on National Issues. "I can't remember the last time a CEO told me he was going to the US for treatment."

• Meanwhile, the Clintons have been running around the country acting as though their grotesquely complicated and wrong-headed health scheme was still alive on Capitol Hill. As late as mid-March Ms. Clinton was still speaking like she was calling the shots: "I've been talking about health care for more than a year, and I'll keep talking about it until I get it done." In fact, congressional health care legislation drafters quickly filed the Clintons' Mediflop in favor of their own ideas, leaving the First Persons with little to do but to maintain the fraudulent impression that they invented such concepts as universal coverage. The only vote on the Clinton plan as of the end of March found not a single Democrat supporting it. When the House held an Oxford-style debate on the plan, the Dems did everything they could to avoid discussing it.

Despite the fact that the Clinton plan is one of the great legislative failures of recent White House history, some papers, like the *Washington Post*, faithfully cling to the spin that any health bill remotely similar to the White House scheme is a "Clinton-style health plan."

Which is how it described the measure passed by Rep. Pete Stark's subcommittee. Stark is the guy who doesn't like to be in the same room with Ira Magaziner and who described the Clinton plan as being like a unicorn, beautiful in nature but unseen by man. Fortunately, Stark dumped the Clinton mess and created a plan based on the reasonable concept of expanding Medicare.

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Just politics

Whatever one thinks of Hugh Rodham's qualifications to become a senator from Florida, he is a bit more fun than his sister and brother-in-law. When it became apparent than Rodham had failed to vote with stunning regularity, he explained that it was due to the "lethargy and apathy that presented itself in the 60s and 70s." He had now been awaked to "the chance to change in the 90s."

Rodham told Maureen Dowd of the *New York Times*, (who is rapidly becoming our favorite mainstream political reporter) that "in 1991, I was energized by the likes of Tom Harkin, Paul Tsongas, Bill Clinton and Jerry Brown. I thought for the first time in my voting life, there was somebody I could get behind.

"I've been involved at least studying-wise in Democratic politics since I was five years old. But as the decades of the 80s rolled on and on and on, I had not desire. I lost of a lot of faith in the system, so this was my own way of protecting the way things are."

The mediacracy

It's hard to believe given the current hysteria, but the nation's murder rate was virtually the same in 1993 as it was in 1992. According to a study by the Center for Media and Public Affairs, however, the network evening news doubled their coverage of crime and violence last year and tripled their attention to murder stories. NBC, incidentally, had nearly 40% more crime stories than ABC. CBS had 24% more. Says Robert Lichter, co-director of the center, "People's fear of crime doesn't come from looking over their shoulders. It comes from looking at their television screens."

Old news

• In its tenth anniversary issue, *Utne Reader* listed ten events that shook the world noting that "the biggest news stories of the past decade appeared first in the alternative press." The first example was Tom Martin's 1988 story on the politics of devolution, published in the *Review* a year and a half before the fall of the Berlin Wall. Here's an excerpt:

> Devolutionary movements are no longer restricted to the Third World. The artificial creation known as Yugoslavia was slapped together after World War I out of the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian empire, but the Croatian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Slovene peoples have always resented domination by the Serb majority. Yugoslavia will eventually break up, and probably would have done so long ago had it not been for the repressive communist regime.
>
> And the Russians themselves are in some trouble. . . "Russia," of course, is only one (albeit by far the largest and strongest) of 15 Soviet socialist republics. . . .Barring some catastrophe like nuclear war, a challenge to the centralized Soviet state will eventually arise. . .

• In our May 1992 issue, we ran a Who's Who of Arkansas complete with flow chart listing two dozen of the state's most curious characters and institutions -- ranging from the Clintons to the mysterious Park On Meter corporation. Eighteen of those named have come to be featured in what is known as the Whitewater scandal. The most interesting person we missed: Vincent Foster. Not yet in the news: the Contra training and drug running operation out of Mena, Ark. -- at least two major news outlets are digging into this one -- and the connections between BCCI and Clinton's campaign financiers. The leader of that issue pointed out that it was not too late to nominate someone other than Clinton for president.

Furthermore. . .

• Secrecy watchdog Steven Aftergood notes that one of the more remarkable documents to emerge from the files on human radiation experiments is a 1947 Atomic Energy Commission memo on the classification of these experiments. It states:

> It is desired that no document be released which refers to experiments with humans and might have adverse effect on public opinion or result in legal suits. Documents covering such work should be classified secret.

The AEC memo itself was classified secret and only declassified this February.

• We believe that politics should stop at the lower lumbar region's edge. Therefore, upon hearing of President Clinton's back problems last year, we passed word to the White House through, so to speak, a back channel concerning a non-invasive technique that had worked remarkably well with another large middle-aged man, namely your editor. The advice fell on deaf ears and now we read that the president has been wandering around in a back brace. We remain ready to straighten out the president's back in addition to our normal function of correcting his politics and ethics. We are, after all, a full-service newsletter.

• Washington is deluged each summer with interns, but the word apparently has not gotten to Harvard's Kennedy School, which ran a free ad in *City Paper* reading:

> Harvard University students seek summer housing. Please send all *offers [emphasis added]* to Matthew Strong, Institute of Politics, 79 JFK Street, Cambridge MA 02138. Or call 617-495-1360.

The assumption that Washingtonians might be dying to house what *City Paper* called Harvard's "smug bureaubrats" reflects an attitude not unique to Mr. Strong. A Kennedy School graduate student in an interview with Andrew Ferguson of the *Washingtonian* put it this way:

> The vast majority of people [at the school] are idealists. They want to change the world. But it's more than that. To be honest, we feel that we're entitled to change the world. . .

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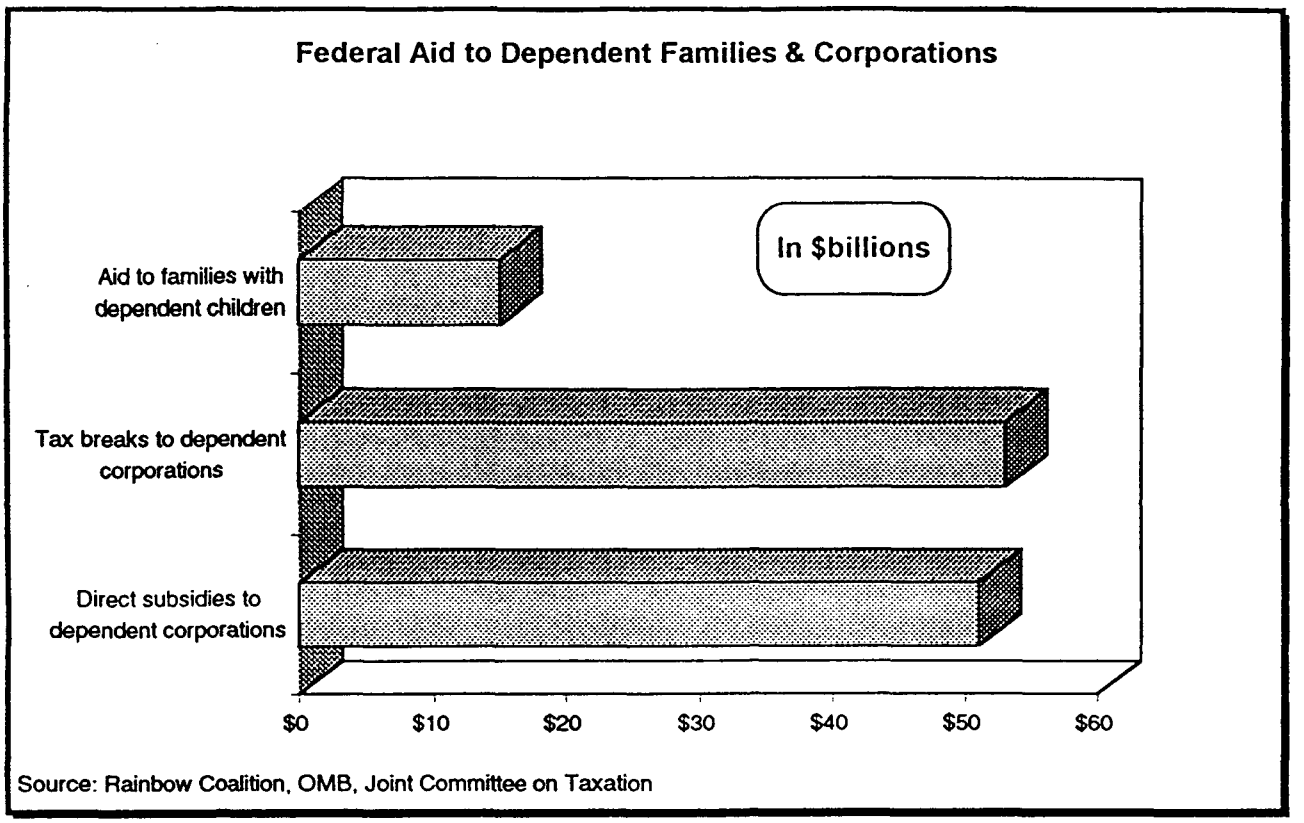
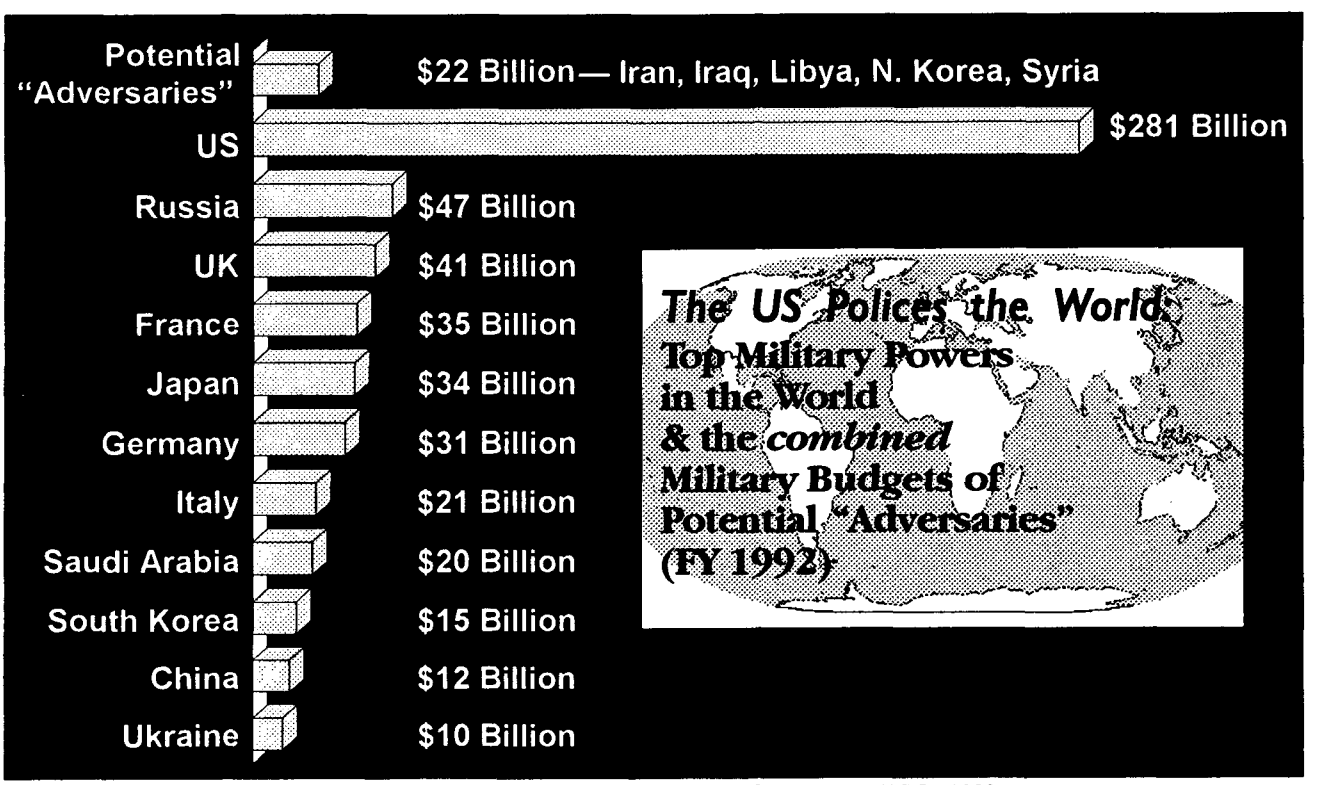
Budget priorities



Source: Rainbow Coalition, OMB, Joint Committee on Taxation



Source: *The Military Balance, 1992-1993*, IISS (1993); Center for Defense Information (CDI), 1993.

Bottom chart from National Priorities Project. For federal budget impact reports that may be available for your state or locality, call the NPP at 413-584-9556

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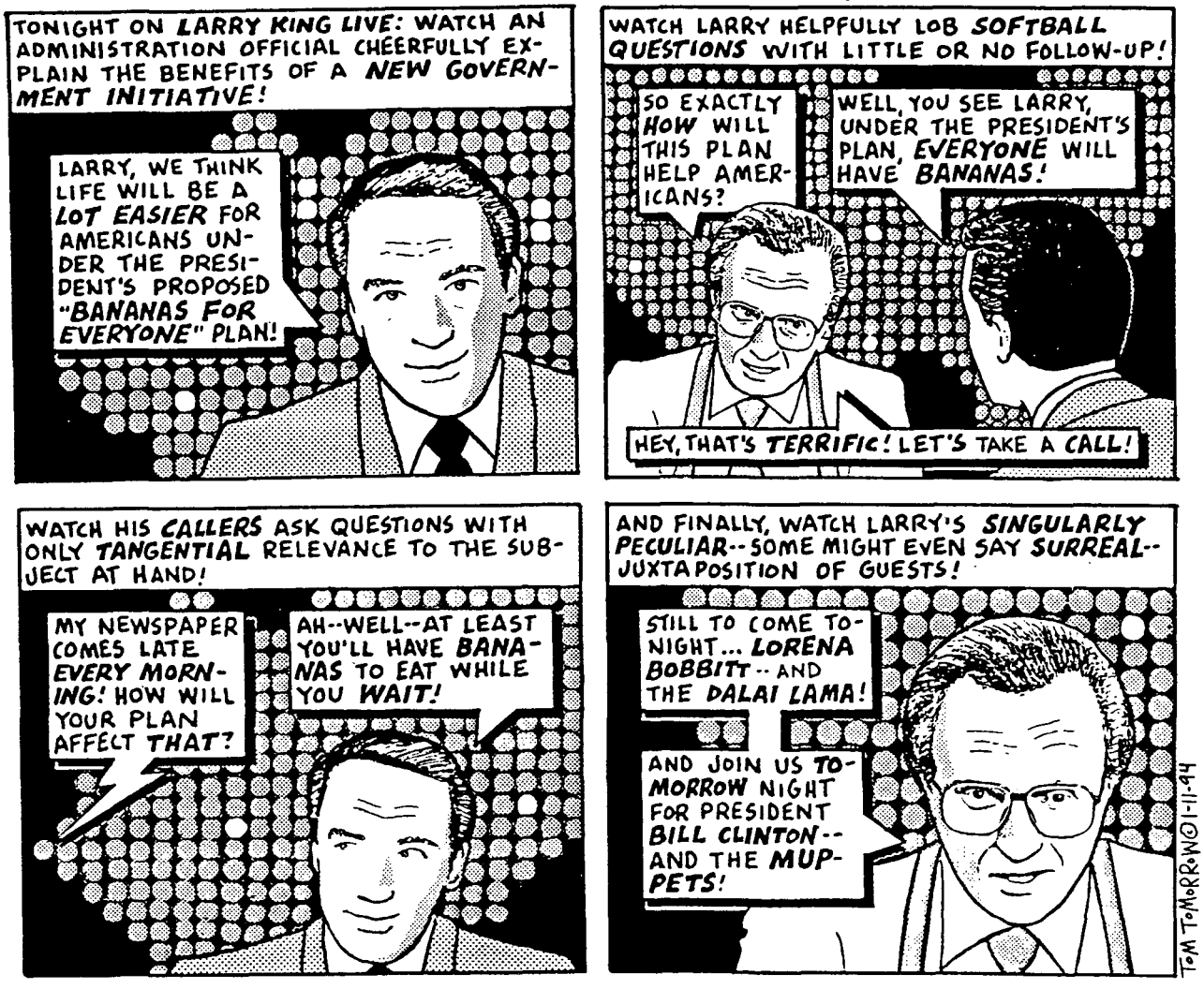
THIS MODERN WORLD by TOM TOMORROW


TONIGHT ON LARRY KING LIVE: WATCH AN ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL CHEERFULLY EXPLAIN THE BENEFITS OF A NEW GOVERNMENT INITIATIVE!
LARRY, WE THINK LIFE WILL BE A LOT EASIER FOR AMERICANS UNDER THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSED "BANANAS FOR EVERYONE" PLAN!
WATCH LARRY HELPFULLY LOB SOFTBALL QUESTIONS WITH LITTLE OR NO FOLLOW-UP!
SO EXACTLY HOW WILL THIS PLAN HELP AMERICANS?
WELL, YOU SEE LARRY, UNDER THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN, EVERYONE WILL HAVE BANANAS!
HEY, THAT'S TERRIFIC! LET'S TAKE A CALL!
WATCH HIS CALLERS ASK QUESTIONS WITH ONLY TANGENTIAL RELEVANCE TO THE SUBJECT AT HAND!
MY NEWSPAPER COMES LATE EVERY MORNING! HOW WILL YOUR PLAN AFFECT THAT?
AH--WELL--AT LEAST YOU'LL HAVE BANANAS TO EAT WHILE YOU WAIT!
AND FINALLY, WATCH LARRY'S SINGULARLY PECULIAR--SOME MIGHT EVEN SAY SURREAL--JUXTAPOSITION OF GUESTS!
STILL TO COME TONIGHT... LORENA BOBBITT -- AND THE DALAI LAMA!
AND JOIN US TOMORROW NIGHT FOR PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON -- AND THE MUPPETS!
TOM TOMORROW ©1-11-94

ROADSIGNS

Economics

Percentage of male workers 18-24 who received less than a poverty level wage in 1979: 23%

Percentage of male workers 18-24 who received less than a poverty level wage in 1990: 40%

Percentage of 18-24 year olds who live with their parents: 54%

Average number of annual major strikes during the 1960s: 300

Number of major strikes during 1991: 40

Health

Number of Americans who die annually due to medical malpractice: 80,000

Justice

Percent of all homicide cases solved in 1970: 86%

Percent of all homicide cases solved in 1992: 65%

Politics

Number of signatures needed to get a third party candidate on all state ballots in 1992: 697,188

Number of signatures needed for a new party to run candidates for all federal, state and county partisan offices in Colorado in 1994: 279,057

Number of signatures needed to get Robert LaFollette on all state ballots in 1924: 50,000.

Sexes

Number of years women lived longer than men in 1920: 1

Number of years women live long then men today: 7

Sources

Economics: *Extra!*, William Dunn in *The Baby Bust*, Jim Ridgeway in *Village Voice* **Health:** Public Citizen. **Justice:** Democrats 2000 **Politics:** *Ballot Access News*. **Sexes:** Warren Farrell

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FIELD NOTES

READING

Taking Care of Business: Citizenship and the Charter of Incorporation: This invaluable booklet describes one of America's best kept secrets: how we lost control over corporations. It also describes approaches for regaining control of corporate charters. This pamphlet should be required reading for any activist dealing with the power of the modern American corporation. *$4 plus stamped self-addressed #10 envelope to Charter Ink, POB 806, Cambridge MA 02140.*

PR Watch: A new quarterly keeping track of public relations manipulation of public issues. Says editor John Stauber, "My goal is a working network that will share information and expose the industry." *$60 from PR Watch, 2218 Gregory St., Madison WI 53711*

The Bike Advocacy Resource Guide: lists more than 300 organizations around the world. Also contains useful article and resources for successful bike advocacy. *$10 from the Bicycle Federation of America, 1506 21st St. NW #200, DC 20036*

What Works: Local Solutions to Toxic Pollution: 38 full-length profiles of local solutions to problems along with descriptions of more than 70 regional and national groups working on toxics issues. **What Works: Air Pollution Solutions:** 69 effective local initiatives to reduce air pollution. *$17 (plus $2 postage) each from the Environmental Exchange, 1718 Conn. Ave. NW #600, DC 20009. 202-387-2182.*

Stop the Calls! How Citizens Can Sue Telemarketers. A guide to handling those annoying calls at dinnertime. Includes the addresses of all state attorneys general. *$3 from Center for the Study of Commercialism, 1875 Conn. Ave NW #300, DC 20009. 202-332-9110.*

The Price of Mobility: Uncovering the Hidden Costs of Transportation. *$8.95 from Natural Resources Defense Council at 71 Stevenson Street, San Francisco CA 94105. Contact: Evelyn Arevalo, 415-777-0220.*

The Statehood Papers

Twenty years of writing about the DC statehood movement by *Progressive Review* editor Sam Smith. Gives arguments for DC statehood, reviews history of the nation's capital colony and describes the struggle for self-government. Useful to anyone involved in the DC statehood movement. $10 from Progressive Review, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, Washington DC 20009. (DC residents: please add 60 cents sales tax)

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